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484 recognized the coat of a village chief, and by the size of the
[501] boat he knew that it belonged to the upper river, far, far beyond the stretches he had yet penetrated.

He spoke the greeting in the faintest of whispers, out of
576 deference to a man of age and rank, and stopped his boat,
484 for this village belonged to his own clan, and it was here that he would get from his mother's sister the cassava
[962] bread which she had got ready for his journey up river. He got out of his boat gently; decorum demanded that he subdue his energy before the man of position. His palms rested on his knees for an instant, as he stood slightly
[516] inclined before the older man, and what questions he answered, he did in speech which was punctuated with the ceremonial stammering demanded by the occasion. He had put his toga-like cloth over him and stood hesitating whether or not to take his paddle to the village with him, for he was so well known here that this settlement was almost as familiar to him as his own. But at last he leaned down and took up his paddle. This mature formality, in a village where he was still often looked upon as a boy, was prompted perhaps by this meeting with the chief, or by the new feeling of confidence he had, since he was taking the Bakra's boat up the river. But here he was, going up the embankment with the firm, slow step of the stranger.

484 The old chief had already started, having first made his
180 sacrifice of rum to the spirit of his boat by squirting it over
[501] the finely carved head which appeared in relief on the
● 627 prow. And now, as he guided his canoe with the sure strokes
539 of his large steering paddle, he sang his prayer.

"*Kediamo, Kediampon,*
Mother of the River,
Sacred ancestors, and my a'ka,
I am taking this journey down the river,
I am going to the city,
Grant that I travel in safety,
Grant that the trip be joyous,
Grant that I meet with friends,

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ON THE SARAMACCA RIVER

Grant that I walk with strangers in friendship,
Grant that the white man deal fairly with me.
Great Sky God,
Mother of the River,
Sacred ancestors,
I thank you."

Before the sound of the old chief's voice had died away, 484
Bayo was on the bank again with the great diks of cassava bread in his arms. He covered them carefully and was on his way. His aunt had provided nicely for him. She had given him a large bottle of palm oil as well, and now, if he could but shoot a monkey or a macaw while going up the river, he [862] would have excellent food. The Bakra would be certain to have a drink or two for his paddlers, and some leaf tobacco; and, though he himself was not old enough to snuff tobacco, he would save it for a gift to the father of his betrothed.

He went back to his seketi.

"Ma, a Lamé
A sib' ko' de muye."

On the bank of the next village several women were at work washing clothes. Were they young? Ah, but he must hurry. Twice he had been overtaken.

"Tia, odi! tia, odi! tia, odi!" He spoke to each of the three women separately and finished his "Adiosi" with an extra flourish, for he knew as he paddled away that the circle of cicatrized kamemba and the snake incised in the small of his back below it would gleam in the sun and look alive to the women who watched him make off.

That Lamé obia was a powerful thing!

2

765

At Gankwe they had been up all night, for yesterday was the eighth day after death, and that night the ceremony of B'oko Dei had to be cared for—until night met day, the villagers said, there would be Anansi stories, and then, after the dawn, the elders would hold council, for one's

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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684 [196] be. The Earth Mother, who is the giver of fertility, takes the adulterous woman who is with child under her protection, and no one may harm her. But the guilty man must make redress to the betrayed husband. Fines must be paid by the adulterer, and there is the beating which the husband administers. This beating has its ritual. The culprit, at the time that is set, comes out to the place where the injured husband and his family wait. They attack him with bare fists, although the Kromanti arm obias are sometimes slipped down on clenched hands, and with these serious wounds can be inflicted. With or without the iron arm bands, the beating is a serious matter, and the man who has committed the trespass is severely mishandled, unless he can get away from his assailants and run into the bush. In the bush he has sanctuary, and at the end of some time may come back to his village. The gods will not give a weakling husband, or one who is not clever enough to take his revenge when it is offered, a second chance.

At times this beating is a merry affair. This happens when the adulterer's family tries to protect him, and then the matter becomes a two-family brawl, or, if the village is a [628] large one with more than one clan substantially represented in it, it may become a fight between two clans. Once, in a village near the railhead a man was killed in such a fight, and then white police stepped in, and the murderer went to prison.

[222] [118] A chief, however, can give the culprit sanctuary, and Asikanu, being a chief's brother, was protected by the chief while negotiations were being carried on in his behalf. Now he was sent away from home to be one of our paddlers so that the enraged husband might be dealt with—time helps to cool anger. This was important in Asikanu's case, since the husband of the woman who had gone to Asikanu would consent to no fine, however large, and seemed, furthermore, to have misgivings about the manner in 776 162 which the ritual beating would be conducted. "I will kill myself," he had been heard to declare. "I will kill myself, 684 754 and give them all kunu. My *yorka*—ghost—will come to

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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123 shoulders and arms glisten, or otherwise to make themselves
[302] presentable for the reception. There was nothing to do but to keep close to a tree-trunk, water dripping from naked body and the strip of twisted loin cloth, teeth chattering in the sudden chill brought on by the storm.

The head of Sungi was suddenly thrust inside our boat-tent.

"I saw the Granman. He says the storm is passing. You are to come to him as you are. It is best so. Waiting here is cold."

Turning, he ordered the paddlers to their places, and almost before the paddles were in motion, the guns began to fire.

"The Granman knows the time it takes to give a message. The Granman knows everything," said Bayo in great
[203] admiration, as the guns saluted.

Three shots, and three more. Two shots, an interval, and another coming faintly. Then a short silence, and once more the guns, in clusters of three, but now sounding from several directions.

As we rounded the bend of the island the farther bank was alive with people. The rain had subsided to a drizzle. Across the strip of water which separated us from the shore we could see men and women and children standing about, the women with large food trays inverted over their heads to protect their finery. But the men, disdaining such aids, stood in the rain and looked on with undisguised curiosity. Boats joined ours from up and down the river. With the sound of the guns came hallooing, shrill cries which were the women's expression of enthusiasm, actual or ceremonial.

292 As we watched, several figures appeared on the high bank,
554 the others making way for them. Two of the men were not
● 622 dressed in the colored toga-like cloths that were worn by the others, but in coats of rich material which reached to their knees. They wore black top-hats with cockades at the side. One of these, we recognized as Chief And'u of S'ei. His coat was of deep crimson, bordered in blue, and his companion's a vivid yellow. Both of these men carried

AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

long wands of office, of black wood topped with silver knobs. About their necks were heavy silver chains, and from each chain was suspended a large silver crescent. Both of these men carried

Another man stood near them to one side. He wore a long coat of white edged with scarlet and blue. He carried no stick, and wore no insignia. On his head, over a white kerchief wound tightly about the head and caught up in the back, was a white sun helmet. Above his head, held by one of the younger men who accompanied him, was an umbrella, the highest emblem of rank. It betokened that this man was Moana Yankuso, Granman of the Saramacca people.

3

Kasanya was first out of the boat when the dugouts were brought to shore, and after him came Bibifo. Sedefo and Asikanu remained with the younger men, waiting for the Granman to indicate that he wished to receive them. Only men of rank and elderly members of his own clan would go at this time to speak to the headman, who stood there watching the boats.

"We came, G'aman," we heard Kasanya say, "and we brought the Bak'a." Two or three low-voiced sentences followed, and then the conversation was terminated by the elderly functionary in the yellow coat, who came down to our boat.

"I greet you in the name of the G'aman, Bak'a," he announced. "The G'aman himself awaits you. Come with me."

As we stepped out of the boat, the hallooing of the women and the shouts of the children, which had stopped when the paddlers addressed the Granman, began once again, and, as an underlying voice, the salutes from the shotgun were to be heard. The old man, shifting his wand of office to his left hand, now carefully helped first the one, then the other out of the boat and, offering his arm to each in turn, led us to the top of the steep rise, until we were face to face with the Granman. It would have been unlucky had we lost our footing at this moment of welcome. This chieftain was

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Above the door was a shelf which did not quite reach the entire width of the wall, and on this shelf were the council benches, which the Granman supplied to the visiting chiefs. These benches were small, low, and as little ornamented with carvings as the work stools used by the women. But on the sides symbols were incised, and at least two of them we were able to identify as clan emblems. One of these had the conventionalized patterning of the hatchet, the emblem of the Granman's clan, and another a flower which is associated with the people from whose group come the principal diviners. The tops of these simple stools sometimes had inlays of dark wood, but whether their outlines were of ritualistic importance or not, no one would say.

From the beams hung several umbrellas, still inside the wrappings in which they had come from the white man's city, and a wickless metal lamp, into whose chains envelopes were inserted. These envelopes contained letters received by the Granman which awaited the coming of the missionary to be read, or letters which had already been read, and were there to add color to the official scene.

There were also other *Bakra sani*—white man's things—in the house. A canvas folding chair which filled almost an entire wall stood against the slats beside which, on the outside, were the earthen jars. This was for the Granman. He sat in it with the majesty of an emperor. No one ever approached it too closely, and we were never invited to take our ease in it when the Granman was in his own house.

In addition, there was a table in the center of the room, covered with a red and black plaid cloth from the city, and two straight-back chairs. On the table stood an alarm clock which was set for the noncommittal hour of twelve and a glass decanter filled with rum.

Chief And'u was the first to join us inside.

"It is fine here at the G'aman's."

"Yes, it is a fine house. And you, And'u, you look well in your coat. Is it when you are with the Granman that you dress so?"

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622 292 [293] "It is the coat of a chief. All chiefs wear these coats At the G'aman's we wear the best we have."

We looked at his silver-topped wand of office. "Do all chiefs carry these?" we asked.

"Not every chief has a stick like mine. And all chiefs do not have one of these." He pointed to the crescent of silver which hung from a chain about his neck.

"It is beautiful."

"Ya-hai. And it's old."

Embossed on the silver plaque were the arms of Holland, richly worked.

622 648 293 643 "After the time of running away, when the fighting was over between our ancestors and the whites, these were given to us, and the wands of office. But not all chiefs have their wands from the white man. Some have the ones we call 'free sticks.' A man who has a 'free stick' is not a chief for the white man, but we know that he is a chief."

He added that the whites had made an agreement with the escaped Negroes that if they would no longer raid the plantations and carry away slaves with them they would be considered free men in their bush, under the white man's government. Since that time the Bush Negro Granman and certain of the village chiefs had had official recognition, and as a token of this each of them had been given a uniform, a [292] high hat, a crescent with the arms of Holland worked on it, a silver-headed staff, and an annual stipend.

"The chiefs who have 'free sticks,' the white man does not pay."

576 As we spoke of these things, we were interrupted from time to time by the noiseless brushing aside of the cloth which hung above the door, and the entrance of one of our men, or a man of the Granman's village, who brought in our canisters and hammocks. With not even a glance in our direction, they would leave as noiselessly and return to the river. Through the slatted side walls we could hear the sounds of such activity as we had not thought possible in the tropics.

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For a few moments there was a rapid interchange between him and the old man in the yellow coat.

"The down-river men who have brought the white man," the Granman continued his cadenced speech, "will be housed in the village. The four Gankwe men will put up their hammocks in one house. The other four will be put up in my quarter. So it is. So I care. . . . "

"Yes, wise man."

"Gbolo!"

The ceremonial introductions followed, and each chief was praised for his special services to the Granman. The man in the yellow coat was of the Oyo people, a son of a great line, held high in the esteem of men and gods. Sungi was a man who knew much of the white man's wisdom. He had been to the French shore, and knew the French tongue, he knew about white man's medicine, but, friends, he was a child of the bush! And'u was a beloved chief, an honest man, a man to send on missions of trust. The bassia was a clever man, one of the men of And'u's village. The gods loved him, for what his hands touched turned to wealth. He was a good man. He was a friend.

A low cough was heard outside. Slowly the cloth was raised, and crouching into the hut came Kasanya and Bibifo. They were carefully dressed, and each wore a kerchief drawn tightly about his head. These they wore by right of age.

The bassia, lowest in rank, was greeted first, and then each chief in his turn, until the Granman was reached.

"Greetings, G'aman."

"Thank you, friends," came the vibrant answer.

This began the colloquy of inquiry about each other's well-being, which here at court had a longer ritual than anywhere on the river. It was a prelude of measured song which introduced all speech between strangers. Bibifo began timidly and did not show himself equal to the many variations which Kasanya had introduced with ease.

"Friends, I am glad you came. You must tell me what is happening in your villages."

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[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
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Now it was the Granman's turn to supply the interpolations, while Kasanya and Bibifo reported.

"Yes, so it is. So I know it to be myself. So I have heard," he spoke when they paused.

But when the ceremonial greetings were over, and the conversation turned to down-river affairs, the Granman leaned forward in his chair and talked with the men informally. They were all clan members, or men belonging to clans whose allegiance to the Granman's rule was undoubted, and they talked over many things in the way men do when they meet with their own kind.

The room was growing darker. Yankuso called through the slatted wall against which he was leaning, and the young man who had fired the guns entered.

"Bassia, it is getting late. We must leave this house to the white man. These men with me are my friends. They must drink before they leave."

The bassia took the decanter from the table, and from the shelf underneath it, where we could dimly see shells and containers of shot, he took several small glasses. Before taking the glass to his lips, each man poured some of the liquor on the ground as a libation to the Earth Mother, and, as each drank, he turned to Yankuso and asked if he might leave.

"*Mi da permissi*—I grant you permission," he said to each.

When we had finished our meal, it was already dark. At the door of his own house, Granman Yankuso was sitting on a low stool.

"I have something for you," he said, disappearing inside his house. When he came out, he held in his hand some black object, which we were unable to identify. "You have fire?" he asked, as he suspended this object from a tree which grew between his house and the one in which we were staying.

"There was a white Hollander here who brought this to me. He went from here farther into the bush. He never came out. Light is a good thing at night. When visitors

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pieces of red and blue cloth worked with this thread, so that again the white vertebrae showed. Bayo and Angita wore their beads, and each had a garter below the knee of the right leg. Their garters were white in color, but of a whiteness which only new, unwashed cotton has. They were about an inch and a half wide and were so tight that the muscle of the calf bulged prominently. On their upper arms were Kromanti rings of iron which, by contracting, warned the men of impending danger. In addition, Sedefo and Angita wore the bell obia of the Gankwe people, and Bayo his love obia which had come from Lamé.

"When do you go, Sedefo?"

"When the G'aman speaks. When we finish a piece of work, then we do not want to be paid at once. We do not leave at once. It would be as if we had not gone together in pleasure and wanted to be away as soon as possible. With the white man it is one thing. In the bush we do not do it so. Here in the G'aman's village, we do as we do with our own people in the bush," he paused for an instant, and looked about toward the clearing outside the palings. "There is another thing. In the G'aman's village, men cannot leave until the G'aman gives permission. When the G'aman is ready, he will call us. We will speak together. Then we will speak with him again. Then we will ask to go."

Bayo had been looking about the council house with an interest which was not unmixed with awe at the Granman's possessions, and he spoke in whispers.

"Ai, when the G'aman gives permission, then we go."

As he spoke, the cloth over the doorway was gently thrust aside. Bassia Anaisi of the Granman's village entered. He was the man who had fired the saluting gun the day of our arrival and who had at the Granman's call come to serve the visiting chiefs with rum. He now greeted each in turn but did not take down a bench. For a moment he stood there, head lowered out of deference to the character of the place where he was, then he coughed slightly and, turning to us, said, "The G'aman is ready for you. The chiefs are here."

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over whom it was exercised. When the ancestors of the Bush Negroes were brought to New World slavery, what measure of acquiescence they showed was due to the fact that slavery was not an unfamiliar tradition to them. They knew of the war captive, or the man convicted of a serious crime, who was a slave to one of their own kind. But the experience of the white man's slavery was a crucible in which the ownership of man by man, and the unquestioning obedience which men owed to those of higher rank, were destroyed, leaving only the ideal of the life of free men. "Free!" was the way in which one Bush Negro toasted another, or a white man, when he drank with him. A "*Man Nengere*," an adult Negro was, above all, a free man, and it was as a freeman that he was governed, for though villages had chiefs, and there were bassias who were subordinate to chiefs, and though above the village chiefs were clan chiefs, and over them all the Granman, yet the final word rested with the members of each subsidiary body, and not with its leader.

Every village had its officials, and its medium for discussions. Every clan had its head, and its old men, who, sounding out the will of the clan members, consulted with that head when questions were to be decided. For the decisions affecting the entire Saramacca River, there were the Granman and his krutu, before whom questions of larger policy or disputes between villages were brought.

Perhaps most impressive of all was the measure of autonomy which each village had. A village, or certainly a group of neighboring villages belonging to the same clan, formed a small kingdom. A Bush Negro of another village who came to visit, came as any stranger, paddle in hand, his top cloth covering his loin cloth. When he found himself in a strange village on a night when a dance was being given, he did not join the dancers until after much urging by a native of that village, and then he danced little, and if he were a particularly fine dancer, he took care not to flaunt his superior gifts. The exception to this, to be sure, were the sacred dances, when a stranger, whose god came

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to him when the drums called that god, could not be held accountable for what he did while his god had him in his control.

No stranger, no man who came to live in his wife's village, even though he had spent a good part of his life there, took it upon himself to offer advice to his wife's family. Again and again we would hear from men and women on the river, "In our village we do it this way," or, "We only carry the corpse on the head twice. Our spirits don't like to be troubled more often," or, "Mawu as a name for the Great God is used in our village, but not everywhere on the river."

There was the experience with several sacred images of village gods we had bought from an upper-river village. Our paddlers refused to carry them for us from the village to the boats, and it was with marked uneasiness that they permitted us to put them into the boats.

"We do not know what these gods can do. We do not know what is hateful to them. They are the gods of another people. We won't carry them."

But with the *gomi*—the child of the village of his mother's family, it was quite otherwise. He was a member of the village, he had a voice in its governing, he knew its gods. If he belonged to the family of the chief of the clan, if, let us say, his older brother were the chief, or if he was one of several nephews of a chief who had no surviving brothers, then at the death of the chief there would be a krutu, and the men of the village would decide which one of the several men who were eligible for the office was the most capable. Though rank was hereditary there was always selection among several heirs, and again the final word rested with the people of the clan. The offices of lesser chiefs—village chiefs who were subject to the clan chief, or bassias who served the chiefs—were passed on in the same manner.

While law making was in the hands of the chiefs, or captains, and the krutu over which they presided, law enforcement was the task of the bassias. It was they who saw to it that the orders of the chiefs were carried out. When

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THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

"*We go asri*," we would be told when the question arose how far we would travel on any given day, or when we urged a reluctant man to sell a ceremonial bench with which he was loath to part. When the answer came back, it came as a unanimous decision of those most concerned. The members of his family had talked over their need for money and weighed that against his personal love for the object he had carved, and most often the decision was against his disposing of it. He cared for it, that meant it pleased his ak'a, his soul, and of what worth was money when it was a question of displeasing his soul, which might begin to trouble him?

"Bak'a, if we cut off our heads and sell them, then if we buy hats, where will we put them?"

So it was in krutu. The lanti, the people, discussed what the bassia had said, as they went apart in small groups. From time to time, a bassia would be called to join one group and then another. What did the chief have in mind when he said this, or that? What did the old men think the consequence would be of the action under discussion? Was it desirable for the village to take a slight, and do nothing at this time? Was it necessary to arrange a compromise, instead of taking the matter into their own hands and beating the members of the offending clan?

After this discussion, each group came back to the assembly united in its stand. If all the groups were agreed, the matter was ended, and the wisdom of the chief and his councilors prevailed. If all disagreed, then it would have been temerity indeed for a chief to attempt to impose his will against the massed dissent. But if there was a lack of agreement, then the long debates would commence. Man after man would summon all his oratory to the argument, and for hours the various factions would speak. In the end, the will of the group would be swayed one way or the other, and a decision reached.

But this was only the procedure in the lowest assembly—that of the village. As men grew older and their sons and

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their nephews took up the dancing for the gods, their interests were directed more and more toward the clan rule.

"I do not dance any more," Sedefo had told us, "My sons dance Kromanti now. I must do now what is expected of a man of my years. I must see that our people act wisely in all things which touch this world, and the world of our ancestors."

A clan krutu was a self-sufficient unit made up of members whose maturity fitted them for looking after the worldly and supernatural welfare of their people, for in the larger organization of the tribe it was the clans who stood one with another in perfect equality to complete the whole—the Saramacca people.

The chieftain of the principal village of the clan was the clan head. In him was vested the right to speak for the large grouping, and in the krutu which he conducted the etiquette approached that of the tribal krutu in its intricacy. The village where the clan head lived was inhabited predominantly by his people. In other villages on the river his people might be one of several clan groups. Several villages were inhabited by three or even four clan groups, each of which had its own captain. But such villages were not the seats of clan heads. Where a clan chief ruled would be not only the clan krutu house, but the shrines raised to the important dead of the clan, the clan ancestors whose spiritual powers to help and advise the living were as great as the feats they had accomplished when alive. Here, too, at the village where the clan head lived would be the shrines to the gods who had the clan under their special protection. Above all, here under the direction of the chief were not only those who guided the worldly destinies of the clan, but those who knew how to control the supernatural forces. Here were the obias owned by the clan, those spiritual and unique healing powers whose magic would respond only to the will of clan members who had undergone the training which taught them to operate those forces their ancestors had left for them.

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assemblies such as were reported from the Awka people on the Marowyne were here not called regularly. There was no central body here to make decisions. The autonomy of village and clan seemed almost unquestioned. There were, to be sure, clan alliances, but these bore more directly on the factions which had formed to control the choice of the next headman. At this krutu, therefore, which had just gathered, there were Captain Sungi, head of the Kasito or Dahomey clan, and And'u, the able chief of the Dombi people, and the headman of the Popoto people, and the headman of the Anago. But Fandya of Baikutu who headed the Nasi people was not there, nor were the Awana people represented, nor the Alabaisa, nor Kwama, nor Bi'ito, nor Fandaki, to cite some examples. Of the missing chiefs, several of them lived a considerable distance from the seat of the Granman, and indeed had been to his village but few times.

"Ai, men must krutu," Kasanya had told us one day on the river. "If a few men decide, then the others have anger in their hearts. That is not good. When the lanti meets, and all men talk, then those who came with anger cool their hearts. Talk is good."

And another time, Sedefo had found occasion to quote the proverb, "If you have not settled one thing, you cannot go on to the second." The best way was to talk things over until all men saw that what was proposed was good or bad.

4

In the krutu house of Asindopo Lantiwe the Granman began to speak.

"Mati—friends—the white man has come. He sits there. With him is his wife. She is there beside him. The man from the white man's city has come. He is there. He will speak for the white man. The white man has a cook. The cook is outside."

"So it is, G'aman," said Captain Sungi.

"Mati, the white man came. All who come to me must eat. The white man must eat."

"True, true, master of the realm."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

It may be of interest to recall the names of some of the old villages which constituted places of refuge for the escaped slaves in the early days and from which many of the forays were conducted against the white plantations. In the jungle between the Surinam and the Saramacca rivers were the following:

Villages	*Headmen or Captains*
Accoro-kriki	Aletoo
Attoma-kriki	Attama
Awara	Davo
Congo-kriki	Attoma
Doussoo-kriki	Mufinga
Cabrolte	Primo
Janwiri-kriki	Kwakoo, Klaas, Pedro
La Motte	Foolon
Matawarie	Adoo
Loango	La Motte
Toofinga	Coffie
Wana	Mathysie
Pada	Pambo, Magondi, Darie, Samaan

Higher up the rivers, separated from these, were still more villages continuing right on to the Brazilian frontier, even on to the Orinoco River, where some of the escaped slaves mixed with the Indians.

The villages between the Surinam and the Marowyne rivers were the following:

To the north of Paramaribo, between the Duivelsbroek

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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(Devil's Pants) Swamp and the ocean was the village of No Meli Mi (Don't Touch Me).

On the Upper Surinam River at the source of the Surnau Creek and to the north of the plantation Maasstroom there was a village called Broos Condree; on the right bank of the lower Commewyne River, the village of the Headman Kopro-Kanoo (Copper Cannon) was situated.

On the Upper Cottica were the following havens of refuge:

Villages	*Headmen or Captains*
Gado Saby	David Voro
Corsary	Pamo (Governor)
Meli Mi	Araby
Mi Sa Lasi	Boston
Tesi	Abram
Boesi Krei	Thoma
Kwami Condree	Coffie
Karoe Condree	Jan Prado
Areisi Condree	Quakoo
Boucou	Baron
Aroukou	Bonny, Joli Coeur

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

posely to make the village as hard to reach as possible, to protect it from white invaders. From long experience the Djukas mistrust all white men.

In Jankoeso is lodged the general authority over the Saramaccaner tribe and the territory in which they live. He has forbidden the intrusion of any visitors unless they are announced several days beforehand, by messenger.

All the Granmans receive their title by matrilineal inheritance, and cannot be deposed. When one dies he is succeeded by his oldest sister's oldest male child, while his own sons never, under any circumstances, succeed him to the kingship. If there is no such person as his oldest sister's senior male child, then the succession passes on to the oldest male child of the nearest female relative. If the line dies out, and no relatives are eligible, the successor is elected by popular vote from among the captains of the river villages, but this seldom occurs. On such an occasion there may be a struggle between different lo, playing politics to get into power. Otherwise inheritance is strictly through the female line.

The Dutch government exerts only a nominal control over the Bush Negro tribes of the interior. Once every year the river Granmans come down the broad river highways to Paramaribo for a parley with the Governor of Surinam. After a ten-day canoe trip downstream, Jankoeso finds a train waiting for him at Kabel, to bring him ceremonially the rest of the way. The other rulers must come all the way by corial. On their long and often hazardous journey they are accompanied by their most powerful captains. The Gran-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

a prisoner, and refusing to take the special train awaiting him at Kabel. Special trains, he said, were not for prisoners. He was paddled the additional ninety miles in his own corial, which took six days longer. Very vexed at this, the Governor did not shake hands with him, and Jankoeso was offended. "Why doesn't he tell me 'Howdy'?" he asked Mynheer Wolff, who is always instrumental in furthering friendly relations between Dutch and Djukas. Wolff called the Governor outside, and advised him to treat the Granman with more cordiality. The necessary handshaking was done, and the parley continued more affably. The guilty one was apprehended and jailed for a year. Once again there went upstream the annual present of the Dutch government to each Granman. This is a continuation of the custom of tribute money paid to the Bush Negroes ever since the days of the black rebellions. Every year each Granman receives 1500 guilders.

The Granman is the actual chief of the river nation, but the government centres in the village proper. The village is governed by a headman or *captain*, and aiding him in his work is a council or *bosseia*, consisting of three or four or more of the most mature men and women of the town. "Bosseia," like the American colloquial *boss*, comes from the Dutch word *baas*. Here the rough justice of the jungle is administered, and local disputes are settled. Here decisions are made concerning the ownership of timber, and property rights in cassava fields. Quarrels over women are more frequent than any other kind of disputes, and they, too, are settled by the village captain and his bosseia.

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

622 623 352 The bosseia meet under a separate shed, specially built for this purpose. The captain has a "throne," which is an ornately carved stool. The one belonging to the captain of the village of Lombe was purchased and brought back to the American Museum of Natural History. The members of the bosseia, too, have ceremonial seats, with elaborately pierced carving, typically West African in design. When the occasion arises, a meeting is held and the council is seated about on these ceremonial benches to hold palaver.

622 623 692 337 The business is brought up. Perhaps it is a domestic quarrel—two men over one woman. The offended party rises and begins exercising the Bush Negro's traditional privilege of unlimited and vociferous oratory. He details his wrongs. Grand gestures accompany the sonorous flow of words. The interested members of the village sit at a respectful distance from the captain and bosseia, and listen to the harangue. When other speakers have had their say, any inhabitant of the village may get up and give his or her opinion. Proudly the captain exercises his judicial talent, and the decision is handed down. It is not questioned.

622 623 562 364 The women members of the bosseia have as much power as the men. It is chiefly the women who see that the ancestral and village customs are enforced. They are the guardians of the ancient traditions and customs of the race. To them, also, belongs the duty of keeping the village clean. If the town needs a general cleaning, the women bosseia go about from hut to hut, telling the women to get together and perform the task.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

When there is a conflict between villages over their hunting and fishing territories, the captains and bosseias of each town meet on some neutral ground and arbitrate the matter. Then, indeed, the parley becomes wordy and rhetorical. Each cause is championed with long speeches, setting forth oratorically the rights and conditions involved. But once an agreement is arrived at, the matter is closed.

Local disputes, excluding those over women, are not nearly so common or so serious as they are among civilized white men. There is a minimum of quarrelling among the Djukas; they get along together in an almost idyllic way. Wherever there are women, there will, of course, be quarrelling, for, in the words of Confucius, "Disorder does not come from heaven, but is brought about by women." Outside of this factor there is little friction in the Bush Negro community. Their highly communalized government works exceedingly well.

The Granman and his captains have an annual council to make laws for the coming year. This and other assemblies are known as *kuutu*. The captains and bosseias from surrounding villages concentrate at some important town to meet the Granman there. The Council near Gansee, the trading-post, included the villages of Nu, Lombe, Biodoti, Ganya Condree, and Adawai. Jankoeso refused to hold his parley in the town proper, although Gansee is the largest village in the entire tribe, because there is a Christian mission station there, conducted by the Moravian Brothers. Jankoeso is in favour of retaining the ancestral gods of the jungle, and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner
Aucaner

and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers.

The Granman can call a meeting of his captains at any time. They must attend, even though it involves days of rigorous travel. Although the captains look up to the Granman and acknowledge him as their superior, the connexion between them is not close enough to be considered a hierarchy. The "river nations" are not monarchies in any sense. The only laws promulgated by the Granman are those that affect the entire tribe.

Neither the captains nor the Granman have any privileges or prerogatives to set them apart from the undistinguished natives; there is no leisure class. They are all dependent upon their own efforts to earn a living, and work like anyone else in the village. Rank does not make social parasites out of them, as among us. The Granman's only external distinction is that sent by the white man, the tribute from the Dutch government. The type of social organization now prevalent among the Djukas, therefore, may be described as primitive communism.

The Aucaner, second in number to the Saramaccaner, are scattered in a less compact way over the rivers and creeks of the colony toward the French Guiana line. This tribe numbers about 6000 in population.

Just below the realm of the Saramaccaner tribe, at the junction of the Sara Creek and the Surinam River (see map facing page), are some of the Aucaner villages: Koffay Camp, Lebbi Doti, Lasa Baka, Pitchong, Baku, and other settlements. There are few villages on the long Sara Creek, but

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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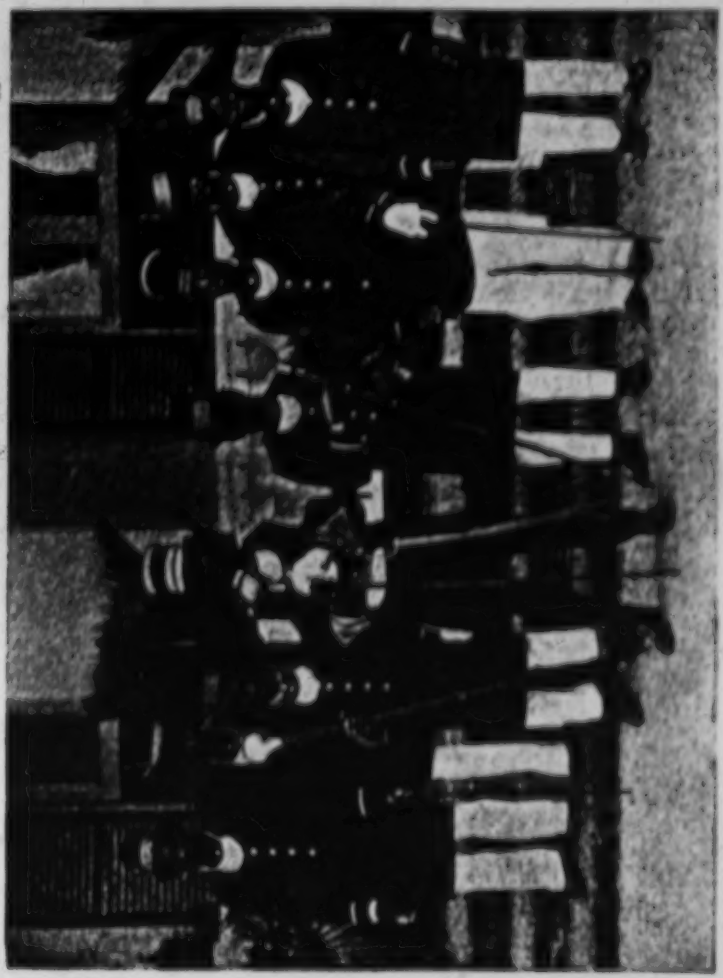

Granmans and Captains Assembled in Paramaribo for a Council with the Governor of Dutch Guiana.
Photo by Carel

[Facing p. 102

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

It is indulged in as naturally as the other bodily functions.

"Marriage" is a convenient term for describing cohabitation among the Djukas, but it must be remembered that to them marriage is a purely economic institution. There is little ceremony. No one objects to getting married, because divorce is instantaneous and easy. The bonds of marriage are loose, and adultery, to use our harsh term, is customary.

Courting consists in presenting the prospective bride with elaborate wood carvings of useful implements. This wood carving has been developed by the Djukas to a high point of artistic perfection, as can be seen from the illustrative specimens, of which more will be said later. The approaching marriage is not looked upon as a departure from the maternal group; it is simply an arrangement for providing the man with a cook and the woman with children. The marriage of a captain or a Granman differs in no wise from any other; no especial care is taken of his bride.

We encountered two varieties of the process of choosing a husband. In the first, the girl has little to say, her husband being selected for her by her parents. In the second and more frequent practice the woman marries the man of her own choice, the parents making sure that the intended husband is a good provider. But since every Djuka buck is trained to the jungle crafts from childhood, this requirement can almost be taken for granted.

The husband marries frequently. He may marry outside of his village, or outside of his lo, but never outside of the tribe. Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of pieces of

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

342 ings inside, to give the idea of affluence. The women looking
556 into the dim interior are awed by the numerous boxes. They are usually empty, however.

837 When men go away on hunting or fishing trips, adultery
638 frequently occurs. If it is discovered by the husband's family, they seize the wife and beat her. Her own family rushes to her aid, and a general mêlée ensues. The village is soon in
● [22] an uproar, and to the captain belongs the unpleasant and thankless task of stopping the fight. There is considerable excitement for a few minutes. Many a hot listless evening is provided with a momentary thrill because someone's wife has been careless. After the mêlée the wife is usually forgiven, and the village returns to its normal routine.

516 Divorce is easy. A married woman merely informs the bossia and captain, and moves out of her husband's hut, going back to her parents or to her lover. Even this formality may be dispensed with if she simply locks the door and refuses to let her husband enter. There is an heroic simplicity to this procedure. The husband may do the same, divorcing any one of his wives without assigning any reason for his action. The parting—we hesitate to distinguish it as a divorce—is usually on the woman's initiative; men leave their wives not so often as their wives leave them. Usually a husband will endure a wife until domestic dissension makes his life unbearable. Among women the motives for divorce vary; a husband's impotence is a very adequate reason, for of all masculine virtues the Djuka women esteem virility the most. Impotence seems to be common among primitive peoples after

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

766 643 [622] teresting things concerning burials. A Granman's or a captain's body is placed in a cave-like hole dug in the side of a hill, and is eventually sealed in. It is forbidden to throw dirt upon the bodies of such officials.

764 In the case of an ordinary person, a large hole is dug in the ground in which the corpse is lowered. A plank is placed over the body, so that the dirt subsequently thrown into the hole will not come into direct contact with the body.

766 The bodies of albinos, idiots, and lepers are otherwise disposed of. These people are supposed to be related to the river, and are called *watra pekein*, or water children. Instead of being allowed to rot, their bodies are placed in a pit dug in the bank when the river is low. When the water rises, the corpse is washed out of its temporary tomb.

769 Every year the azang puu, the palm barrier across the village path, is renewed, and at this time prayers are said for the dead. The dead person's relatives have shaved off their forelocks when he died, and often again at intervals of three, six, and nine months thereafter. But after the lapse of a year there is no mourning; a large dance is held to signify that the period is terminated, and after that the dead man or woman is relegated to the position of an ancestor. The prayers then ask him to intercede with the gods for the benefit of those still among the living.

Djuka

/3 cont./

123 In connection with what I have already said concerning an agreement concluded by me with them, I regard it as not inappropriate to give here a sketch of the manner in which I was requested to enter into this agreement with them, and what happened before they came to an agreement with me in such an extraordinary manner.

After I had already dealt with them for some time in an increasingly open manner and my journeys to visit them had become more frequent, some of the chiefs confidentially notified me that, although they had already come to know me over a considerable period of time and regarded me as a good and honest man, since they had experienced better treatment from me than from many others with whom they had previously had dealings, they could nonetheless not simply assume that I would always remain the same and that possibly I had completely different intentions with regard to them which they might later regret. For this reason many of them had still been reluctant to commit themselves definitely to work for me. In order to do away completely with this mistrust among them, I continued to stay with them in the bush for a considerable time and always demonstrated that I had honest intentions with regard to them, until after a few weeks, as a result of the open-handed giving away of food and drink, I noticed that I was short of everything and was forced to send my vessel to Paramaribo in order to fetch what was needed, whereby I found myself completely alone among them.

123 675 [622] When thus, after the departure of my vessel, I spent a number of hours talking about my plans with the headman of the village, called Sparri Passi (1), in his hut, he strongly advised me

1. Sparri (a large flat fish) way.

to conclude at this time the agreement customary among them. I agreed and immediately requested him to accompany me via a bush path to the nearest village, Manjaondro (2), in order to

2. Under the manja tree.

/137 cont./

241 and sugar cane, while in the third year some pineapples, bananas, and sugar cane are also harvested.

Thereafter one surrenders the ground to the second growth (kapoeweri) shooting up, here called "kauwé," and to the weeds, like the cutting gras "baboen nefi" (Scleria secans), which prevent further growth of the cultivated crop.

This system of clearing grounds requires much land. It is a severely predatory cultivation which can only be employed when sufficient free land is available. Only after many years can one return to the same piece of forest to lay out a new ground, depending on the recovery of the forest, more particularly on the top growth.

[592] Among the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne it is the rule that
[476] each household provide for itself. The man clears the ground with help of family /familie/ members or friends, who in return for food are taken in during this time. If the man has /138/ one wife, then ordinarily two grounds per year are cleared; if he has more than one wife, then he clears two grounds for each wife.

[622] The captain /kapitein/ of a village lays out his ground him-
[663] self, helped by his villagers. The granman /chief/, however, does not work himself, but, regardless of the number of his wives, has his family and other helpers clear grounds in return for food for the
423 workdays. The products of the grounds of a household are not joint
593 property, but rather the wife asserts her rights over the produce from one ground, while the man claims that from the other ground. Thus a distinction is made between the agrarian property of the wife and that of the husband.

3. The Plague of Ants and the Ant-bushes

241 125 In the agriculture of the Bush Negroes the plague of ants plays a significant role. The leaf-cutting or parasol ants (Atta sexdens and Atta cephalotes) are very destructive because of their attacks on the leaves in the plantings. The first-named species is the greatest evildoer in the interior districts of Suriname. Cassava in

/509 cont./
October 1958 – January 1959), expeditions whose principal aim was the sociological study of these populations.

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Social Structure and Way of Life

The Boni Refugee Blacks. The Boni are one of the above-mentioned tribes of the Refugee Blacks, reconstituted in the course of the eighteenth century by rebel African slaves who escaped from Surinam plantations (Dutch Guiana).

These tribes (Saramaka, Djuka, Paramaka, Boni) live for the most part along the rivers of the interior of Surinam. They group together a total of 25,000 persons.

With very rare exceptions, the Refugee Blacks are pure Africans. These populations, vigorous and well adapted to the country, have experienced in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a remarkable demographic increase, attested to by all the authors. Descended from small rebel groups which could not have contained more than a few hundred women, they are now estimated at more than 25,000 persons.

The Boni of the Upper Maroni, the subject of the present study, number approximately 800, of whom 660 are on the French bank (the villages of Boniville, l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Asini, Papaliton, and Kormotibo) and 140 on the Surinam bank (the village of Kotika). These villages were established long ago.

Each of them groups together a matrilineage, i.e., the descendants in the uterine line of one single founding ancestress; certain villages know their genealogy in its entirety back to this ancestress, who must have lived at the end of the eighteenth century. The members of the lineage are united by the cult of the ancestor, which binds them firmly to their natal village and to their land. The social system is based essentially on this cult, the chief of the village being above all the priest of the ancestors.

Strictly speaking, there is no marriage, but only an acknowledged concubinage which entails neither a contract between the

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 114 184 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks. Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and bee, but give them a completely different meaning.

194 591 621 The organization they describe can be summarized thus: Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] [103] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.

[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] [167] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nêege for the former slaves of the Jews, Kôpani nêege for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /East India Company/. /30/

174 613 614 621 591 1621 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term beg, meaning the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient importance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in

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l'Enfant Perdu (Tabiki) Village

Legend

	House of				House of		
3	C Djabefo	Dip. I, 826		25	△ Fambéto	Dip. I, 882
4	△ Kanon (usually lives in Kotika	Dip. I, 823		26	○ Anowentina	KI, 873
				25	△ Dambéi	Dip. I, 847
6	△ Bimi	Dip. I, F78		30	○ Anowa	Dip. I, 848
9	Sawmé	Dip. I, 852		31	○ Towaibo	Dip. I, F84
10	△ Tabaye	Dip. I, F73		32		
11	C Sawmé (2nd house)			33	△ Malye	Dip. I, F82
13	Abena	Dip. I, 839		34	△ Baben (2nd house)	
14	△ Pobee	Dip. I, F77		36	○ Anéli	Dip. I, F80
15	△ Toki	Dip. I, D44		37	○ Ekua	Dip. I, E44
16	Wata	Dip. I, F80		38	C Anou	Dip. I, G20
17	△ Abapou	Dip. I, E35		39	○ Mamiya	Dip. I, F81
19	△ Bayamalo	Dip. I, E56		41	○ Apenua	Dip. I, F84
20	△ Simon	Dip. I, F78		42	○ Kodjo	Dip. I, F86
21	△ Manko	Dip. I, F75		43	○ Saayé	Dip. I, F86
22	△ Baben (village head	Dip. I, D40		45	○ Pointéma	Dip. I, E42

Total on January 1, 1958: 65 persons, of whom 25 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

○ Anowentina 1926, raised by her father Fambéto, remained in l'Enfant Perdu;

△ Tom 1930, DJUKA, raised by his brother by the same father Tabayé in l'Enfant Perdu village, remained there afterward.

Total: 2 persons, of whom one is bringing up a child.

Loka and Lapé Tabiki Villages

Adult inhabitants whose residence is normal: /Error for "not normal"? - Tr./

△ Alinoudo 1935, raised by his father Kossman in Loka, stayed there

○ Baïaum 1924, raised by her father Akiabi in Loka, stayed there

○ Adéchi 1922, raised by her father Kodjo in Loka, stayed there

○ Nonu 1937, raised by Namu, sister of her father, stayed in Loka

○ Régina 1936, raised by her father Pépo in Loka, stayed there

Total: 5 persons, raising 7 children or adolescents under 16 years old.

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Loka and Lapé Tabiki Villages

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Legend

Loka Village

№	House of		
1, 4	○ Bito	L1, D2	
3	△ Télon	L1, E3	
2, 5	○ Totti	L1, E1	
6	△ Pikinbaala	L1, E2	
7	○ Totouman	L1, F1	
8	△ Douté	L1, E10	
9	○ Balkom	Dju, F10	
11	△ Abété		
12	△ Malobi	Dip. I, E50	
13	○ Alapu	L1, D9	
14	○ Apiéku	L1, E7	
15	○ Yaana	L1, E39	
16	○ Madu	L1, E41	
17	△ Topo	L1, E40	
18	○ Chii	L1, D24	
19	○ Koko	L1, E42	
20	△ Ayenbédé	L1, E37	
21	○ Mayon	L1, F27	
22	○ Saleni	L1, E25	
23	○ Kayé	L1, F26	
24	△ Tingo	L1, F25	
25	○ Awenkina	L1, D23	
26	○ Paako	L1, E29	
27	○ Do	L1, F35	
28	○ Akomédi	L1, F34	
29	○ Méchi	Aw. B.1, E27	
30	○ Balansi	L1, F37	
31	○ Mémé	L1, E34	
32	○ Akuba	L1, E30	
33	△ Akwadé	L1, E22	
34	○ Ondi		
35	△ Pwan	L1, E33	
36	△ Koniman	L1, E31	
37	○ Akuba	L1, E30	
38	○ Afuyéti	L1, F38	
39	△ Afoondo	Aw. B.1, F56	
40	○ Mélita	L1, E32	
41	○ Abiaman	L1, F39	
42	○ Téké	L1, F44	
43, 44	△ Tamu	L1, F32	
45, 46	△ Fosé	L1, F33	
47	△ Somié	L1, E24	
48	△ Popo, head of the village	L1, E23	

[622] →

Lapé Tabiki Village

№	House of	
1	○ Asamani	L1, D15
1a	Manntau	L1, E20
2	Tabiki†	
3	△ Butu	DJUKA
4	△ Sofé	L1, D13
5	○ Twa †	L1, E14
6	○ Asolda †	L1, C11
7	○ Kama	L1, E15
8	○ Adoimba	L1, E17
9	△ Maaten	L1, E18
10	△ Tyaka	L1, D16
11	○ Yundu † 1957	L2, G60
12	○ Asakundu	L2, E55
	○ Angisa	L2, F61
13	△ Anato	L2, G61

Total on January ., 1958: [illegible] persons of whom 64 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

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Asisi Village--Awara Bakka Quarter

Legend

№		House of		№		House of	
1	△	Amusupé 1887	Aw. B. 1, E3	30	○	Noémi	Aw. B. 1, F51
2	△	Kondoku, village head	Aw. B. 1, E22	31	△	Empalé	DJUKA
3	○	Kyéti	Aw. B. 1, E30	32	△	Antonu	Aw. B. 1, E47
4	○	Mani	1. Aß, d12	33	○	Agyasu, her husband Maliki,	L2, F64
5	○	Paniki	1. Aß, d13	34	○	Irma	Aw. B. 1, E37
6	△	Awéni	1. Aß, c12	35	○	Bugi	Aw. B. 1, F41
7	△	Agibidon	Aw. B. 1, E21	36	○	Akumuyé †	Aw. B. 1, D17
8	○	Akichi	Aw. B. 1, F27	37	○	Méédjé	Aw. B. 3, F90
9	△	Boofo	Aw. B. 1, E31	38	○	Mona	Aw. B. 1, F50
10	○	Biyo	Aw. B. 1, F11	39	△	Mato	Aw. B. 1, E46
11	△	Matapi	1. Aß, c3	40	○	Chitalna	Aw. B. 1, F43
12	△	Béti	Aw. B. 1, F37	41	○	Lébimay	Aw. B. 1, F56
13	△	Aminto	Aw. B. 3, E74	42	○	Namu	Aw. B. 1, E48
14	○	Kuluba † 1957	Aw. B. 1, D1	43	○	Léna	Aw. B. 1, E52
15	○	Fakima	Aw. B. 2, E61	44	△	Maina	Aw. B. 1, F42
16	○	Abuyu	Aw. B. 2, E63	45	○	Lébimichi	Aw. B. 1, F27
17	○	Koluku	Aw. B. 2, E59	46	○	Amélia	Aw. B. 1, F19
18	△	Garson	Aw. B. 1, F7	47	△	Ernest	Aw. B. 1, E25
19	○	Summa	Aw. B. 3, F81	48	○	Apinda	Aw. B. 1, F16
20	○	Emma	Aw. B. 2, D25	49	△	Bésu	Aw. B. 1, F17
21	○	Titi	Aw. B. 1, E16	50	○	Kakié	Aw. B. 1, E18
22	△	Akodo	Aw. B. 2, E55	51	○	Atuku †	Aw. B. 1, E26
24	○	Saanéti	Aw. B. 2, D28	52	○	Ayékuman	Aw. B. 1, F8
25	△	Asakya	Aw. B. 2, E66	53	○	Soéfi	Aw. B. 1, F10
26	△	Kondoku (2nd house)		54	△	Dopia	Aw. B. 1, F9
27	○	Akanté	Aw. B. 3, E70	55	△	Baakaman	Aw. B. 1, F12
29	○	Kilina	Aw. B. 3, E71	56	○	Alicia	Aw. B. 1, E32

Total on January 1, 1958: 145 persons of whom 60 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

NOTA: The Awara Bakka lineage settled earliest on the island of Asisi, and when the Boni speak of Asisi village, they usually mean the quarter occupied by this lineage.

[591] Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

△ Empalé 1905, DJUKA mother, raised by his father Pééyon in Asisi, remained there afterward;

△ Maliki 1928, raised by his father in Asisi, remained there afterward;

○ Delina 1931, DJUKA woman settled near her husband Maïna.

Total: 3 persons.

6:Hurault--75 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 5R8 Bush Negroes 5R8
Boni

Papaïston Village

Legend

162
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621

№		House of		№		House of	
1	○	Bété	P1, F19	18	○	Kumata	P1, G1
2	○	Oben	P1, E13	19	△	Sawen	P1, E7
3	○	Dodo	P1, F11	20	○	Emilia	P1, F3
4	△	Yuwo	P1, E16	21	△	Galmo	P1, E15
5	○	Kaiwen	P1, E14	22	○	Hélène	P1, F2
6	○	Agodéwaan	P1, F10	23	○	Gou	P1, F6
7	○	Mili	P1, F20	24	△	Alay †	
8	○	Donasi † 1957	P1, E16	25	○	Puti	P2, F71
9	○	Awenen	P1, E10	26	○	Ondi	P1, F49
10	○	Adoudu	P1, H61	27	○	Alipay	P1, F47
11	△	Tofanié, village head	P1, E12	28	○	Dopi	P1, G40
12	△	Tolingo	P1, E11	29	△	Agodéba	P1, E1
13	○	Efa	P1, D4	30	○	Tolna	1. Tolna
14	△	Agoundé	P1, F4	31	○	Apounibi	1. Tolna
15	△	Dudu	P1, F18	33	△	Apoyo	1. Tolna
16	○	Kokoyo	P1, F9	34	○	Déndyo	P1, F12
17	○	Wilhelmina	P1, F1	35	△	Mangolo	P1, F20

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Total on January 1, 1958: 83 persons, of whom 36 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

No outsider to the lineage lives in the midst of the Papaïston; the members of the Tolna lineage live isolated at the southern end of the village.

613 /59 cont./
621 except in villages like Boniville where the issue of several lineages
[591] coexist. The rule is that in the homogeneous villages the members of the lineage are entirely free to build their houses anywhere. One observes only a certain tendency of children to group themselves around their mother as far as places are available (see especially in the village of Loka the intermingling of the homes of the descendants of Adédumi, Awɛ̃nkina, and other ancestresses belonging to the same lineage).

In villages like Asisi-Awara Bakka, where are grouped the members of a lo including individualized fractions, it is the same. These fractions have no tendency whatever to form separate quarters (see in the plan of Asisi the intermingling of the homes of the Aw.B.1. 2. 3) any more than they tend to group their clearings in a separate area.

The Boni are apt to say: "Barriers must not be raised between brothers."

621 In a general way, examination of the village plans shows
425 that the Boni build their houses to suit themselves without any privileged orientation and without grouping or isolating them in any special way. Any member of the lineage may build on a site left free (for example, the site of an old hut after the death of its owner, when it has been adjudged to be too ruined to be possible to give as a legacy). [622] He must only have the authorization of the head of the village and also the assent of the neighbors, whom he must not disturb. Since the houses occupy only a small amount of space and most of them have no outbuildings (kitchen or granary), [578] this assent is very easily given. We have never heard it said that people argued about a site.

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504 /102 cont./
613 meet the clearings of the people of another lineage; a de facto
423 boundary is thus created, which is henceforth respected.

621 On the other hand, several farming villages of one lineage
241 may have their clearings totally intriqués /entangled/ (this is
613 the case, for example, with the ones of the Annons and Adiiso
423 habitations). This conforms to the rule of joint possession of the land within the lineage.

621 Organization. The group in a farming habitation is brought to-
241 gether by mutual affinities, and has no hierarchy other than that
609 which springs from kinship ties: authority of the mother over her
592 daughters; authority of the "uncles" over the "nephews."
/103/ The grouping which conforms most to the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks is made up of an old woman, her unmarried sons, her daughters and her daughters' daughters, their husbands coming to help at the time of the clearings but not belonging to the group. Often it is this old woman who directs the habitation, but often also it is an old uncle, her classificatory brother, who has worked with her for a long time. Sometimes this old woman has come to live with her daughters on the habitation founded by her husband.

103 Some of the habitations bear men's names, others women's
423 names. The name which prevails may be completely at variance
592 with the real rights exercised over the land (Ex.: name of Adiiso given to the habitation of his wife where Adiiso has no right at
[613] all). That has no great importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, the only important thing being collective possession of the land by the lineage.

621 For groups which are relatively numerous and brought to-
241 gether more by mutual affinities than by kinship ties, the mini-
622 mum of authority necessary for good feeling and the organization of the work is brought to bear by the founder. For example,

/103 cont. /

621 Atikati exercised authority by this right over the disparate group
622 around him, and at his death he bequeathed this function to his
241 sister Adyidya.

(613) Likewise Antonu exerts undisputed authority over three groups of the Awara Bakka lo settled at the mouth of the Inini, for it was he who took the initiative of creating an establishment at this place. If there is any dispute, it is he who will defend the rights of the Awara Bakka lineage.

622 The authority exercised by the founder of the farming habitation is not brought to bear in material living, which remains subject to the strictly individualistic principles of the Refugee Blacks. He cannot require anyone to help him make his clearings or do any work whatever on his behalf.

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613 Farming Habitations of the Awara Bakka lo
(Antonu, Adiko, Kakyé)
in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini

621 These habitations work soil whose first user was Antonu, of
241 the Awara Bakka lo (fraction 1), which is regarded as belonging
(613) to that lineage. Antonu settled there in 1945 (he was finding that
[423] there were too many people farming the lands near Assis).

To insure his rights, Antonu put on his land two groupings
621 whose situations are very different:
241
542 1) In his own habitation he installed his wife Asakundu, and
423 around her he made up the work group commonest among the
[496] Refugee Blacks: group formed by the mother, her sons and daughters, the daughters' husbands coming to help at the time of the /104/ clearings. But it is important to note that this group has no right at all over the land: if Antonu and his wife ever separate, the wife's group will leave the habitation.

/111 c[illegible]/

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Habitation of the Dju Lo
in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

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[613]
[423]
[476]

Structure of the Atikati habitation (Dju lo). Important habitation founded by Atikati, of the Dju lo, possessing an extended forage fragmented into several blocks on both banks of the Lawa.

This habitation has an abnormal composition, for Atikati worked there with his daughters, which is contrary to custom, and with friends.

●622

Atikati directed the village with his old friend Bernardin (K1, D62), † in 1956, who was the son of a man of the Dju lo and had lived among the Dju since childhood.

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[622]

The basic group of this habitation is made up of people of the Dju lo. Since Atikati's death (1955), his sister Adyidya (Dju, [illegible]19) has directed the village.

Members of the Dju lo:

♀ Adyidya
♀ Baawé (Dju, E13) } both without living children
♂ Loko (Dju, F39)
♂ Atikati worked with his daughters and granddaughter:
♀ Wilèlmina (P1, F1);
♀ Kumata (P1, G1), daughter of Wilèlmina.

To this group were added in 1957:

♂ Bernardin (K1, D62), raised with the Dju;
♀ Asumé (Dip. I, F2), daughter of △ Bernardin and ○ Min[illegible] †.

[423]

Finally, two Kotika women married to Djuka asked for permission to settle there and have their clearings cut there. But they have no right at all over the land:

♀ Nèlla (K1, D44);
Mawé (K1, E35), her daughter.

Gillin collection 246 K-5 (1948-1959) 1961 588 Bush Negroes 589 Boni

/163 cont./

About 5:00 P.M. the coffin arrives at the cemetery wharf and is given over to the Ntamfi. No other rite is carried out. It is placed at the bottom of the grave; a layer of round logs separates it from the pile of earth which is put back on top. The burial is finished about six o'clock.

Notes taken at the burial of Way in Kormotibo (January 25, 1957) (1st day after death).

I arrive in Kormotibo at nine o'clock. There are two dead people in the village: Sokodo, 37 years old, who is to be buried the next day, and Way, 65, who died in Maripasoula and whose body was transported the day before.

When we moored, I noticed at the south end of the village the bearers of Sokodo's coffin, alone and immobile. Arriving near the mortuary shed, I find Captain Kondoku, who presides over the Gaan kuutu, and Captain Poopu, head of the village. Kondoku tells me that he is in the act of proceeding to a new test on Sokodo; he has just had two young men hidden, M... and G...., and the dead man is called upon to find them without hesitation.

I look around us. There is nobody nearby; a few women are attending to their occupations, indifferent to a scene observed many a time. It seems as though Kondoku is doing that for himself alone.

The coffin-bearers appear, coming from the other end of the village. Without hesitation they go toward the mortuary shed, enter it, and the end of the coffin stops before the hammock covered with a large mosquito net spread to the ground, where Way's widower, the Saramaka Gamba, is seated.

To my great surprise I see two young men go out. Nothing revealed their presence under the hammock, and Kondoku, who was talking with me, has neither said nor done anything which could direct the bearers. Nobody present could have

/364 cont./

796 happen to him, may it pass to one side. Thus we have come
769 to pour (the water) to beg you to protect the village. The year
539 has changed today, it is a new year. May we have money and
food, we beg of you, ancestors; watch over our plantings, may
they prosper, may the young women who fish at the wharf
catch fish."

"All the captains pour (the water), the fiskal, the majors pour (3) for all the lineages; protect the villages."

[184]
[622]

3. Honorific titles imitated from the Djuka but which, among the Boni, do not really mean anything; the head of Kormotibo village bears the title fiskal and the one of Kotoka village the title major.

Fustiman:

"The people who have pure hearts, protect them, big and small. But the people whose hearts are not good, who do evil spells to kill others and decrease the village, we do not pray for them; fuwa them out."

"Watch over the grand man; if something happens to him, it must not be said that we, the people who are seated there, have not prayed well. Great ancestors, we supplicate you, if we were on the point of meeting misfortune, that we may find the good."

(They begin to pour the tafia.)

/365/ "Grand Man Awensay ...." (Thanks follow for a trip which was carried out without hindrance.)

Libiman:

"May the grand man live long with us, may misfortune not happen to him."